THE FIRST AND MOST EXCELLENT ORATION OF THAT RENOWNED ORATOR DEMOSTHENES, againſt PHILIP of *Macedon*, the Potent and Politicke enemy of the State of ATHENS.

FAITHFVLLY TRANSLATED out of the Greeke.

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

COurteous Reader, a ſhort inuiting doth beſt befit a ſhort repaſt. Only this I muſt affirme, that Demoſthenes *the Author of this Oration, was the only Counſellor and Champion of the Athenian State againſt the pollicie and proweſſe of* Philip *of Macedon, and his world-conquering* Alexander. *If pleaſure, profite, or both, ſhall redound to any by reading in Engliſh, the Maſter peece of this noble Peere, repreſenting the pollicies and war-like preparations of thoſe times; let him honour his*

fame, thanke his owne Iudgement, and bee beholding to a worthy and learned Gentleman the Tranſlator hereof not much vnlike the Author in profeſsion, who beſtowed the ſame vpon mee; And I as freely tender it to others; alwaies reſting,

A true friend to worth,

Tho: Gok[illegible]

AN ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES, entituled in the Greeke, The first Oration of *Demostenes* against *Philip*; faithfully translated out of the Greeke.

The argument of this Oration written by LIBANIVS.

THE Athenians hauing ill successe in the Warre against Philip, *did assemble themselues together at a common Councell, very male-contented. The Orator therefore laboureth to remooue their male-contentment, telling them, it was not to be wondered at, if being remisse and negligent, they were ouercome by their enemies. And hee instructeth them, how they might best carry their proceedings in the Warre, counselling them, to prouide two armies; the one, and that the greater, consisting of natiues, which staying at home, should be in a readinesse against all suddaine occasions; the other lesser then that, the souldiers whereof should for the most part be strangers, with some natiues entermixed; which should not abide at Athens, nor doe seruice by supplies and aydes to be sent out of the Citie, but should keepe a continuall running campe in or neere Macedonia, making Warre incessantly;*

leſt otherwaies Philip *watching the Eteſian winds, or the winters approch, ſhould make his enterpriſes then, when there would be no ſayling from Athens vnto Macedon; and ſo through the abſence of the Athenians, might ſubdue all places before him: And that therefore this army ſhould be alwaies in places neere him, to oppoſe all his deſignes and practiſes.*

IF that which is propounded to bee conſidered of at this time, were ſome new matter, (O men of Athens,) then I containing my ſelfe, vntill thoſe which are your ordinary wonted ſpeakers, ſhould deliuer their opinions; if ought ſaid by them ſhould pleaſe mee, I would hold my peace; if not, then would I my ſelfe aſſay, to declare vnto you what I conceiue. But ſince it falleth out, that the thing is now conſidered of, whereunto theſe men haue at ſundry times heretofore ſpoken their mindes, I hope my boldneſſe will bee pardoned, though I ſhall riſe vp firſt to ſpeake in the buſineſſe. For if that counſell they gaue before, had beene right, it ſhould not be needfull for you to conſult now anew of the ſame matter. Firſt, therefore (O men of Athens) yee are not to be diſcouraged at your preſent affaires, though they ſeeme to ſtand vpon very badde termes: For that which is worſt in them in reſpect of the time paſt, may prooue beſt of all for your

your future affaires. What might that be? That while ye faile in your duties, and doe nothing as yee ought to doe, your affaires haue ill ſucceſſe: for if performing your beſt indeauours in all things, matters ſhould thriue no better with you, there were no hope of amendment. Next yee are to conſider, both by that yee may heare from others, and by that ſome of your ſelues know, and may remember, how great power and might the Lacedæmonians had not ſo long ſince, when yee not ſtooping to doe any thing vnfitting, or vnworthy of your ſelues, in defence of your rights, vndertooke and bare out a Warre againſt them, acquiting your ſelues braue-ly, and much for the honour of the Citie. But to what end ſpeake I theſe things? That you might know (O men of Athens) and fully diſ-cerne, how that nothing ought to appeare fearefull vnto you, ſo long as yee ſhall carry things heedfully; and that likewiſe yee can looke for no good ſucceſſe in your affaires, ſo long as yee ſhall be careleſſe, and negligent. For which purpoſe, yee may ſet before your eyes, theſe ex-amples, namely, the great power of the Lacedæ-monians, which yee then ouercame by your ad-uiſed and wiſe ordering of matters; and the proud inſolent behauiour of this your enemy, which doth now ſo much moleſt you, by reaſon your ſelues prouide for nothing, with ſuch care as is fitting. But if any man amongſt you (O men of Athens) thinketh *Philip* to be vnreſiſtable,

conſidering the great number of his preſent forces, and that the Citie hath loſt all his principall ſtrong holds, this man conceiueth not much amiſſe. But yet, let him conſider, how that we but tother day held and poſſeſſed as our owne, Pudna, Potidæa, Methone, and all that Countrey round about; and that many of thoſe nations that are now of his ſide, were free States, and liued vnder their owne lawes, being better affected vnto vs, then vnto him. If therefore *Philip* had then harboured this conceit, how it is a ſore matter to haue warre with the Athenians, hauing ſo many bul-warkes, and block-houſes againſt his owne Countrey, himſelfe being deſtitute of Allyes; then had all theſe things ſince exployted by him; beene vndone, neither had hee aduanced himſelfe vnto ſo great a ſtrength. But he (O men of Athens) knew this point of pollicy full well, that all ſtrong holdes are prizes of warre, lying as goles in the middeſt for the Conquerour; and that by the law of nature, the goods of abſent parties belong to them that are preſent, and of thoſe that are careleſſe and negligent, to them that are willing to take paines, and to aduenture themſelues. And therefore carrying this reſolution with him, he hath ſubdued all before him, and doth enioy the ſame, hauing obtained ſome by the law of Armes, and others by gayning men to be his Allies, and confederates. For ſo all men are willing to combine themſelues in league with them, and with all reſpect obſerue them,

them,whom they ſee to be well appointed and furniſhed with forces, and of actiue ſpirits to accompliſh their deſignes. If therefore wee our ſelues now at laſt, though neuer before,ſhall bee thus minded and reſolued,namely, euery man ſo farre as his abilitie,and time and place affordeth, (all colours and pretence being laid aſide,)to do his beſt and moſt profitable ſeruice to the State: The rich man by contributing, the yonger ſort by ſeruing in the warres; and to ſpeake all in a word, if we ſhall all be our owne true taske Maſters, and ceaſe from our former negligence of doing nothing our ſelues,in hope our neighbour would doe inough for himſelfe, and for vs too; then ſhal we(God-willing)recouer al that is loſt, redeeme our former negligences, and reuenge our ſelues of that our enemy. For doe not imagine his affaires are ſo ſurely ſetled in a courſe of euerlaſting continuance,as if he were a god. But aſſuredly (men of Athens) ſome there are that hate him,others that feare him,ſome others that enuie him, and that euen of thoſe who moſt of all make Court vnto him; and all manner of weakneſſe, and frailty that is to be found in any other men, doth likewiſe adhere vnto him and his State. Indeede all men for the time preſent,ſtand at a gaze, and haue ſhrunke in their heads,hauing no place of ſuccour,nor refuge, by reaſon of your ſlackneſſe and drowſineſſe,which (ſay I) ought forthwith to be caſt away. For yee ſee your ſelues (O men of Athens) how

matters ſtand, and into what an height of inſolent pride the man is growne, in ſo much that he doth not permit vnto you, a free choiſe, either to haue Warre or Peace, but doth euen threaten you, and as they ſay, giueth out arrogant ſpeeches, and, is not able to hold himſelfe ſatisfied with the quiet enioying of thoſe places hee hath already ſubdued, but ſtill hee compaſſeth and reacheth after further matters, and while yee vſe delayes, doth encircle you on euery ſide, and doth as it were ſpreade his nettes round about you. When therefore (O men of Athens) when at length, will ye doe that is fitting? what tarry ye for? what, when there is a neceſſity? What then is to be thought of thoſe things that are already done? Verily in mine opinion the ſhame of things baſely done, or ſuffers to be done, is the greateſt neceſſitie that can be to men of free born ſpirits. Pray tell me, would ye that men walking about the towne Hall, ſhould enquire one of an other, whether any newes be reported. In good ſooth can there be told any ſtranger newes, then that a Macedonian man, ſhould in warre preuaile againſt the Athenians, maiſtering them, and controlling the affaires of the Grecians at his pleaſure? Is *Philip* dead? no not ſo, he is but ſicke; but what importeth this difference vnto you? for if this man ſhould miſcarry, ye would ſoone ſet vp another *Philip*, if ye ſhall bee no better aduiſed then heretofore in the diſpoſing of your affaires. For this man hath not beene ſo much

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aduanced and increaſed by his owne proweſſe, as through our negligence. But imagine the man ſhould miſcarry, and that Fortune as ſhee hath euer done better for vs; then we for our ſelues, ſhould be ſo fauourable vnto vs, as to bring this matter to paſſe for vs, know ye then, that we being neere vnto thoſe places, and ſo entring in among them whi le their eſtate is troubled, wee ſhould be able to worke our owne willes with them? But as things now at this preſent ſtand with you, though the times ſhould tender *Amphipolis* into your hands, yet would ye not bee able to receiue it, being ſo farre vnfurniſhed and vnprouided aſwell in forces, as in the reſolution of your minds. I will omit to ſpeake any further vpon this point, taking it as granted, that ye are fully bent, and perſwaded with moſt willing hearts, all of you to doe your beſt endeauour for the good of the State. Now therefore wil I aſſay to declare vnto you, what ſuch preparation of forces ſhould be made, which to my thinking wil be ſufficient to free vs from further troubles; what numbers it ſhould conſiſt of, what ſupplies of money it ſhould haue, and what other things will conduce to the better and more ſpeedy preparing of the ſame. Onely thus much before I ſpeake thereof, I would entreate of you. Firſt heare, and then iudge, and bee not foreſtalled with any preiudicate conceits; neither let any man thinke that I will hinder or delay the proceedings, though I may ſeeme at the firſt to

ſpeake of ſome new and ſtrange preparations; for they do not alwaies giue beſt aduiſe, who ſpeake of matters that may be done ſuddenly, and as it were vpon a dayes warning: for we ſhall not bee able to croſſe things already done, by any ayde we can ſend out, and therefore it will be moſt to purpoſe, if any man can ſhew what preparation, how to be furniſhed, in what numbers, and from whence, will be able to hold out, till we ſhall either end the Warre by treaty and compoſition, or elſe ſhall ouercome our enemy; for ſo ſhall we not hereafter bee infeſted with harmes by him. Of this effect doe I ſuppoſe will that be, I ſhall now ſay vnto you, yet will I not hinder any other man, to informe you if he can of any better courſe. Firſt therefore thus I ſay (O men of Athens) that 50. men of War muſt bee prepared; & next that ye your ſelues muſt be fully minded and reſolued, if occaſion ſerue, to ſaile any whither your ſelues to goe aboorde them, and to ſerue in them. Ouer and beſides this, I would haue ſhips and veſſels fitting for the convoy of one full moytye of your horſemen to be rigged vp, and made ready. Theſe things I deeme ought to bee thus in a readineſſe againſt his ſuddaine marches, and in rodes out of his owne countrey into the Pyles, and the Cherroneſſe, and Olynthus, and whither elſe ſoeuer his fancy ſhall leade him. For this conceit ought to bee preſented vnto his mind from you, that yee rouzing your ſelues vp out of your former negligence, happily may

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make ſome incurſion vpon him, as hee did into *Eubœa*, and before that as they ſay, into *Aliartus*, and now laſtly into the *Pyles*. But though yee ſhould make no ſuch attempt (which I thinke to be very fitting) yet this your preparation will not be a baſe nor contemptible thing, nor without ſome good effect. For either through feare, knowing of your readineſſe, (whereof hee ſhall haue exact knowledge, for there are thoſe who giue intelligence of all things vnto him from vs, more then were meete) hee will ſit ſtill and ſtirre not; or elſe lightly regarding the ſame, hee may be taken vnprouided, when there ſhall bee nothing to hinder vs to transport our ſelues into his countrey, as the times may ſerue. Theſe are the things which I ſay ought to bee agreed vpon by vs all, and accordingly prepared. Ouer and beſides this, I thinke it fit, ye ſhould prepare an army, which in the manner of a running Campe ſhould continually make warre vpon him, and infeſt him. Vnderſtand me not, as if I ſpake of tenne thouſand or twenty thouſand mercenarie ſtrangers, or of theſe ordinary forces to be taked vp vpon letters: for my meaning is of an army that ſhal be the Cities own, ſo that whomſoeuer ye ſhall appoint to bee their Captaine, whether one or moe; and of what quality ſoeuer the man be, him ſhall they obey and follow; and I would haue victuals prouided for this Campe. Now will I runne ouer the particulars, what the manner of this Army ſhould be, of what bignes,

whence to be ſupplyed with victuals, and what your ſelues ſhould be willing to do for this purpoſe. I exclude not ſtrangers altogether, but ſpecially auoide yee that now, which heretofore hath done much hurt to your affaires, while in conſulting of matters, ye thinke all too little; and by your acts of Counſell, reſolue vpon great matters, and when things come to be acted and executed, ſcarce performe the leaſt part thereof: and then with much adoe, hauing prepared ſome ſmall forces, when they appeare too little, ye peece them out with additions. The whole number of theſe ſouldiers, ſay I, ſhould be two thouſand, and of theſe I would haue 500. to be Athenians, of ſuch age as ſhall ſeeme beſt to your ſelues; theſe to ſerue in the warres, a certaine ſet time, what your ſelues ſhall thinke fit, and euery man to take his turne by ſucceſſion, one after another. All the reſt I would haue to bee hired ſtrangers, and together with theſe, two hundred horſemen, whereof fiftie at the leaſt ſhould bee Athenians, they to ſerue in the Campe in like manner, as the footemen doe, and to haue ſhips for the conuoy of themſelues, and their horſe. Well then, is there any thin g ſtill wanting? Yes verily, tenne ſhippes of ſpeede: for becauſe hee hath a nauie, it will be neceſſary for vs alſo to haue ſhippes of ſpeede, which may ſafely transport our army from place to place. But from whence ſhall this Campe be ſupplied with victuals? I will alſo declare this vnto you: but giue

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me leaue firſt to ſhew you my reaſons, why it ſhould be thus bigge, and no bigger, and why I would haue Citizens to ſerue in the Campe. The Armie muſt be no greater verily (O men of Athens) for this cauſe: namelie, becauſe we are not able now vpon the ſuddaine to prepare ſuch forces, as ſhall be able to meete him in the field, and to ioyne battaile with him; but it will be neceſſarie for vs to infeſt him by robbing and ſpoiling, and for that purpoſe, to proſecute the wars at the firſt in this kinde, with a running Campe; which Campe ought not to bee of too great a bulke (for then would there neither bee pay nor victuals for it,) nor yet too ſlender and weake. But therefore would I haue citizens to embarke in company with the reſt, becauſe I heare, how that our City heretofore maintained in their Campe at *Corinth* hired ſtrangers vnder the conduct, and leading of *Polyſtratus*, *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and diuers others; and that ye your ſelues ſerued in Campe together with them: and by report I likewiſe vnderſtand, that theſe ſtrangers together with you, and ye with them in a ſet battle ouercame the Lacedemonians. But ſince this new cuſtome ſprang vp, that hired ſtrangers ſerue in Campe by themſelues alone, they vanquiſh friends and allies, but our enemies grow ſtronger and greater then they ſhould be. For they looking aſquint vpon that which is the true proper Warre of the Cttie, and ſaluting thoſe enemies a farre off, they goe againſt *Artabazus*,

bazus, and to any other place, rather then where they ſhould doe the Citie beſt ſeruice: and their Generall followes them, and not without cauſe; for there is no commanding ouer ſouldiers without giuing them their due pay. What aduiſe therefore doe I giue? This, that ye take away all pretences both from the Captaine and the ſouldier, by prouiding ſufficient pay; and that ye intermixe ſouldiers of your owne together with thoſe ſtrangers, to be as it were ouerſeers of all things done in the Warres. For it is a matter meerely ridiculous to ſee how our affaires are carryed by vs at this time. For if any man ſhould aske you, What, are ye in peace O ye men of Athens? ye muſt needs anſwer, By *Iupiter* not we, for we are in Warre with *Philip*. But did ye not lately according to your wonted courſe, by ſuffrages, out of your ſelues ordaine tenne Marſhalls, and Generals, and Coronels of tribes, and two Coronels of horſe? Pray yee, how are all theſe imployed, except it bee one, whom onely you haue ſent into the Warres? All the reſt furniſh out ſhewes in your proceſſions together with your Prieſts. For as the Potters frame ſtatues of clay for the market, euen ſo yee ordaine Marſhalls and Coronels for oſtentation, and not for the warres. Were it not fitting, O ye men of Athens, that your Campe ſhould haue Marſhalls from you, Coronels from you, and other officers of campe out of your owne body, that it might be truelie ſaid to be the Cities Armie?

mie? But forſooth into *Lemnus* for the perfor-ming of ſome ſolemnitie, there a Coronell of horſe muſt be ſent from vs; and in the meane time, *Menelaus* muſt bee Coronell ouer thoſe forces, that are to fight for the poſſeſſions of our City. This ſay I, not as finding anie fault with the man, but be he whatſoeuer hee will bee, it were fit, he had beene appointed to the place by your ſelues. Theſe things perchance yee thinke to be rightly ſpoken, but concerning the ſup-plies of money, in what quantitie, and from whence they ſhould bee raiſed, that ye long to heare of. I will alſo diſpatch this matter. The moneyes that will be ſufficient to victuall this Armie with bread corne alone, will amount to 90. talents, and ſomewhat more, allowing 40. talents to the tenne ſhippes of Speede, namely, 20. pound to euerie ſhip for a moneths pay; and likewiſe allowing to the 2000. ſouldiers as much more; ſo that euerie ſouldier ſhall receiue tenne groates for each moneth towards his bread-corne: and laſtlie for the 200. horſemen, if eue-rie one of them ſhall receiue 30. groates for his moneths pay, it will amount to 12. talents. But if anie man ſhall thinke bread-corne alone for this Armie is but ſlender prouiſion, he doth not rightlie conceiue of matters. For I know aſſu-redlie, that if this be done, the Armie will fur-niſh it ſelfe of all other things from the Warre, without wronging anie of the Græcians, or of our Allies; prouided alwaies, that they may haue

their ful pay. And I my ſelfe am content to make one amongſt thoſe, that ſhal imbarke themſelues in this voyage, willinglie to abide anie paine, if theſe things be not true. But how ſhall the ſupplies of money which I would haue you prouide, be raiſed? This come I now to ſpeake of.

A declaration for a ſupply of Moneys.

THeſe are all thoſe things (O yee men of Athens) which we haue bin able to finde out. But when ye ſhall paſſe your ſuffrages vpon thoſe opinions that haue beene deliuered, in ſuch manner doe ye decree thoſe things ye like of, that ye may fight againſt *Philip*, not onelie by decrees, and letters, but alſo by deeds, and actions. Now it ſeemeth vnto me, that you will be the better able to aduiſe your ſelues concerning the Warre, and all preparations needfull thereunto, if you ſhall take into your conſideration, the nature, and qualitie of the place, vpon which you muſt make Warre; and ſo ſhall conſider, how *Philip* doth accompliſh moſt of his deſignes, by preuenting vs at ſuch times of the yeare, when the winds and the weather are againſt vs. For hee watching the blowing of the Eteſian windes, or Winters approaching, then beginneth his enterpriſes, when it is not poſſible for vs to conuey our ſelues thither. It behoueth vs therefore to manage the Warre not by auxiliarie forces, to be ſent out on the ſuddaine, (for

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ſo we ſhall alwaies come too late)but by a continuall ſtanding ſet Campe,that ſhall alwaies be in a readineſſe. Now we ſhall haue for the wintering of this Campe, *Lemnus*, *Thaſus*, *Sciathus*, and diuers other Iles in that coaſt,wherein there are hauens and corne,and all other things needfull for an Armie. Now when the time of yeare ſerueth to put on land, this Armie without anie danger of winds, or weather, by reaſon of the ſhort paſſage,and narrow cut, will be eaſilie able to transport it ſelfe vnto the enemies countrie, and to ride at the verie mouth of their Hauens. How, and in what ſeruices this Armie ſhall be employed, this muſt bee left to the diſcretion of him,whom you ſhal appoint gouernour of theſe forces,to take counſell of the times,and preſent occaſion. But the things that muſt bee furniſhed, and prouided by you, are thoſe which I haue here ſet downe. If theſe ſupplies that I ſpeake of,ſhall be made by you (O men of Athens,)and that you ſhall prouide, firſt moneys, next all thoſe other things, Souldiers, Ships, Horſemen, the whole complete furniture of an Army; and ſhall alſo by a Statute law enioyne them continuall attendance vpon the Warres, taking vpon your ſelues to be the treaſurers of the monies, and to ſee the iſſuing out of the ſame, as likewiſe calling your Generall to an account of his actions in the Warre; then ſhall yee ceaſe to conſult ſtill of the ſame matters, and yet euer to looſe your labours. And yet ouer and

beſide this, you ſhall cut off your enemy, from his principall and chiefe reuenue. What might that be? Why, he maintaineth the Warres againſt you, with the goods of your own Confederates, by robbing and ſpoiling thoſe that trafficke on the ſea. What more yet? Your ſelues ſhall be free from being infeſted by him, with any further loſſes; and it ſhall not fare with you, as in former times, when ſuddenly falling in vpon thoſe of *Lemnus* and *Imbrus*, he tooke and carryed away for priſoners, diuers of your Citizens, as likewiſe ſurprizing diuers veſſels at *Geraſtum*, he thereby got a maſſe of money, and but lately, going on land at *Marathone*, he tooke and carryed away your holy Shippe from out of the Countrey, at what times, you were neither able to reſiſt thoſe his enterpriſes, nor yet to ſend out your appointed aydes in due time for reſcue. What thinke yee (O men of Athens) the reaſon might be, why the feſtiuall ſolemnities of the Panathenæan feaſts, and ſo likewiſe of the feaſts of *Bacchus*, are alwaies performed in their due time, and that, whether it fall out to the lot of eminent perſons, or elſe of priuate men of an inferiour ranke, to haue the charge and ordering of the ſame, though he ſpend more monies vpon them, then vpon the ſending out of any one of your fleetes, and that likewiſe the ſame be performed with more multitudes of men, and with greater preparations? And yet all your fleetes that are ſent out, come alwaies too late: that to

Methone,

Methone, that to *Pagasa*, that to *Potidæa*. The reason is plaine, and euident, namely, because all things belonging to solemnities, are appointed by the law, and therefore it is knowne by you long before, who is to be Master of the Reuels, who Master of the schooles of exercise for each tribe; when, from whom, and what he is to receiue, and what to doe, and in these things nothing is left at randome, vncertaine, nor neglected: but in matters concerning Warre, and the preparations thereof, all things are left at large, and without any certaine limitation, order or rule. Therfore we no sooner heare some strange newes, but forthwith we fall to charge men for furnishing out of Shippes, and vpon their offer of exchanging estates with others, as men of better abilitie for the charge, we heare those controuersies, and withall consider how to raise supplies of money: And then at length it is decreed, that strangers who dwell amongst vs, and out-dwellers shall goe aboord the Shippes; and then againe that pleaseth vs not, but we will embarke our selues in their places. And thus while we are prouiding our selues by leasure, the places whither we should conuey our selues, are by this time lost. For we spend the time of action vpon preparation. But the fit seasons for doing matters, will not waite our slow leisure, nor tarry for our negligence. And as for these our forces, wee thinke shall serue the turne in the meane while, when it commeth to the very push, they

are found able to doe nothing at all. By this meanes the man is growne ſo proud, and inſolent, as to ſend letters of this tenour to thoſe of *Eubœa*. The letter. Of the contents of this letter that hath beene read vnto you, many things are but too true, as would to God they were not; and yet though that be ſo, haply they ſound but harſh in your eares. Now in good ſooth, were it ſo, that when a man ſhall leape ouer any thing in his ſpeech that might offend, the thing it ſelfe will through this ſilence leape ouer likewiſe, then were it beſt for vs, in our publike ſpeeches to apply our words wholly to giue contentment. But if pleaſing words without truth turne to reall harme, it is a ſhame for vs (O men of Athens) to flatter and deceiue our ſelues, and putting off all things that are harſh, and vnpleaſing, to faile through negligence in all our actions; and not ſo much as by our owne wofull experience to be able to learne thus much, namely, how that thoſe which ſhall rightly manage a warre, muſt not come after, but muſt goe before, and be before hand for all things that are to be done. For in the ſame manner as a man would wiſh and deſire a Captaine to conduct an army, ſo ſhould thoſe who aduiſe themſelues well, manage their affaires, in taking order, that all things might be done according to their owne ſetled determinations, and not to be inforced by a latter purſuit, to frame their counſels and actions to caſuall euents. For yee (O men of Athens,

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being furniſhed in the higheſt meaſure with forces of all kinde, ſhippes, men at armes, horſemen, reuenewes of money; yet haue yee not at any time till this day imployed any of the ſame for your owne beſt aduantage, and yet are yee ſcanted for nothing. For euen as the Barbarians fight at battes, euen ſo doe yee fight with *Philip*. For as one of them being ſmitten, euer clappeth downe his hands vpon the blow, and if he be ſtriken in another place, thither alſo ſhall his hands goe; but to ſtretch himſelfe out for an aduantage, and to looke before him how to watch and ward off a blow, that neither knoweth he how to doe, neither will he take the paines: euen ſo fareth it with your ſelues; when yee heare *Philip* is in the *Cherroneſſe*, thither decree yee aydes to be ſent foorth: If in the *Pyles*, thither, or whereſoeuer he be, and ſo yee dance vp and downe after his pipe, and haue your Warres conducted by him; but aduiſe and counſell nothing that may bee profitable for your ſelues, concerning the Warre, neither doe yee looke out to foreſee things, touching any part of your affaires, till you heare it be done and paſt, or elſe in doing. Theſe matters might perchance heretofore be borne withall, but now it is come to the very razors point, that there is no longer any place left for ſuch improuident courſes. And therefore it ſeemeth vnto me verily (O men of Athens) that ſome of the Gods, being aſhamed in the behalfe of the Citie, to ſee how matters

goe, hath inſpired into *Philip* this buſie pragmaticall ſpirit. For if he holding himſelfe ſatisfied with thoſe places he hath already ſubdued, and by ſurpriſall gotten from vs, now at laſt would be quiet, and ſtirre no further, there be ſome, I am perſwaded, ſo baſe minded amongſt vs, that they would be contented to ſit downe by their loſſes, to the euerlaſting diſhonour of our State, and to the ſhamefulleſt branding of it with the fouleſt aſperſions of Cowardize. But now hee euer enterprizing ſome new matter, and ſtill coueting after more, haply he may at laſt rowze vs vp, if we doe not hold our ſelues to be quite forlorne creatures. I for mine owne part wonder, if none of you doth conſider, nor is mooued (O men of Athens) in looking vpon matters, how the beginning of this warre, was for to be reuenged of *Philip*, and now the end of it is, how to prouide for our ſelues, that we may ſuffer no more harme at *Philips* hands. For it is euident, and apparent, he will not ſtay, nor reſt himſelfe here, except by maine force he ſhall be reſtrained. And ſhall we then waite and attend his pleaſure? And ſhall we thinke all will goe well with vs, if we ſhall ſend out a few emptie Shippes with ſome good comfortable ſpeeches from this man, or that? Shall we not embarke our ſelues? Shall we not goe foorth with ſome part of our owne ſouldiers now at laſt, though not before? ſhall we not ſet ſayles into his Countrey? But where, ſaith one, ſhal we find harbour?

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The warre, it ſelfe(Ò men of Athens)if we ſhall only giue the on-ſet, will diſcouer and finde out the rotten vnſound part of his affaires alſo. If verily we ſhall ſit ſtill at home, harkening to the contentious wrangling brawles of our common ſpeakers, while they reuile and accuſe one another,let vs neuer hope to ſee ought done that is fitting. For this is verily my conceit, namely, that where ſome part of the City it ſelfe is ſent out, though the whole body of it bee not preſent, yet there is the fauour of the Gods who loue vs, and there alſo the Cities good fortune in our fights and battailes doth aſſiſt vs. But where you onely ſend out a Generall with an empty decree, and bare words of hopes and wiſhes from the Orators pulpit, there neuer is any good ſeruice for the ſtate performed,but our enemies deride vs, and our Allies are ready to dye for feare,when they heare of ſuch fleets.For it is not poſſible,I ſay, not poſſible, for one man euer to accompliſh and effect all thoſe things, which you would haue done. Goodly faire promiſes and pretences they may make you,and when they faile,lay the fault vpon this man and that; but by this courſe and carriage of things, all our enterpriſes haue beene loſt, and miſcarried. For when your Generall ſhall haue vnder his conduct,and leading onely baſe mercenary ſtrangers;and he ſhall haue his agents heere, to ſerue his turne by lying reports vnto you concerning his actions there;and you vpon thoſe falſe infor

mations, ſhall eaſily decree things at randome, what I pray you can there from hence bee expected? But how might theſe courſes be ſtopped? Thus, O men of Athens, if you ſhall appoint the ſame perſons to be both ſouldiers, and witneſſes of your generall actions, and vpon their returne home, iudges of their accompts. For it is not fit, that you ſhould onely by the report of others heare of your owne affaires, but you ought to be preſent at them, and to be eye-witneſſes thereof. Now matters are brought to this ſhamefull paſſe, that we haue ſcarce a Generall that hath not twice or thrice beene arraigned here amongſt you, of life and death; and yet they dare not once aduenture their liues in a Battaile with their enemies, but to their great diſhonour they ſeeme rather to embrace the death of Murtherers, & theefs. For to dye a condemned perſō, it belongeth to a malefactour, but it belongeth to a General to dy fighting with his enemies. Now concerning your ſelues, ſome of you walking about the Citie, giue out, that *Philip* together with the Lacedæmonians plotteth and worketh the diſſolution of the Thebanes, and for that purpoſe, how to diſunite their States: ſome others, that hee hath ſent Embaſſadours to the great King; others againe, that he is building new Cities in the *Illyric* Countrey; and ſo we walking vp and downe, euery man deuiſeth ſome ſtrange newes, or other. I my ſelfe, indeede doe thinke (O men of Athens) that the man (by the gods) is

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drunke with his proſperitie, and the greatneſſe of his atchiuements, and that he hath many ſuch dreamiſh and fluttering conceits in his Braine, as conſidering the weakneſſe of thoſe that ſhould withſtand him, and being puft vp with the pride of his owne actions: yet doe I not thinke him to be ſo giddy headed in his deliberations what to doe, as that the ſimpleſt perſons amongſt vs, ſhould know what he doth intend to doe. For ſo are newes-mongers, and tale-bearers of all others, the moſt ſilly and ſimple perſons. But if leauing theſe vaine tales, we ſhall aſſuredly know thus much, that the man is our enemy, and that he doth depriue vs of our iuſt poſſeſsions, and that now for a long time together, hee hath wronged and abuſed vs; and that all theſe things which at any time we hoped any others ſhould doe for vs, haue beene euer found againſt vs; and that therefore our hopes hereafter, muſt only reſt vpon our ſelues: if wee ſhall well vnderſtand theſe things, we ſhall both bee ſo minded and conceited, as is fitting, and we ſhall no more hearken vnto vaine tales and babling. For it is a vaine matter to conſider or thinke what things hereafter will be; but of this we ought to reſt aſſured, that except we ſhall heedfully, and carefully aduiſe of all our doings, and be willing euery man to doe his beſt endeauour, matters will not goe well with vs. I for mine owne part, haue beene both heretofore thus minded, neuer to ſpeake any thing to pleaſe your eares, whereof I

was not perſwaded that it would bee profitable to your State; and now at this time I haue boldly and freely vttered all that I conceiue, in open plaine tearmes, without ſmothering, or ſuppreſſing any thing. I would onely deſire and wiſh, that as I know it is profitable for you to heare the beſt counſell, ſo I might know, that it would be alike profitable vnto him, that ſhould vtter and giue the beſt counſell; for then ſhould I ſpeake with much more alacrity, and cheerefulneſſe. But now though the euent be vncertaine, what may befall my ſelfe for this I haue ſaid, yet becauſe I am fully perſwaded, that it will be for your profite to doe theſe things, I haue beene reſolued to ſpeake my minde. God grant that counſell may preuaile, which will be moſt expedient for you all.

FINIS.